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HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY REPRINTS

(No. 4)

Extract form

The Diary of Ebenezer Townsend, Jr.

Supercargo of the Sealing Ship "*Neptune*" on her voyage to the South Pacific and Canton.

As published in
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Arranged and Indexed for the Hawaiian Historical Society
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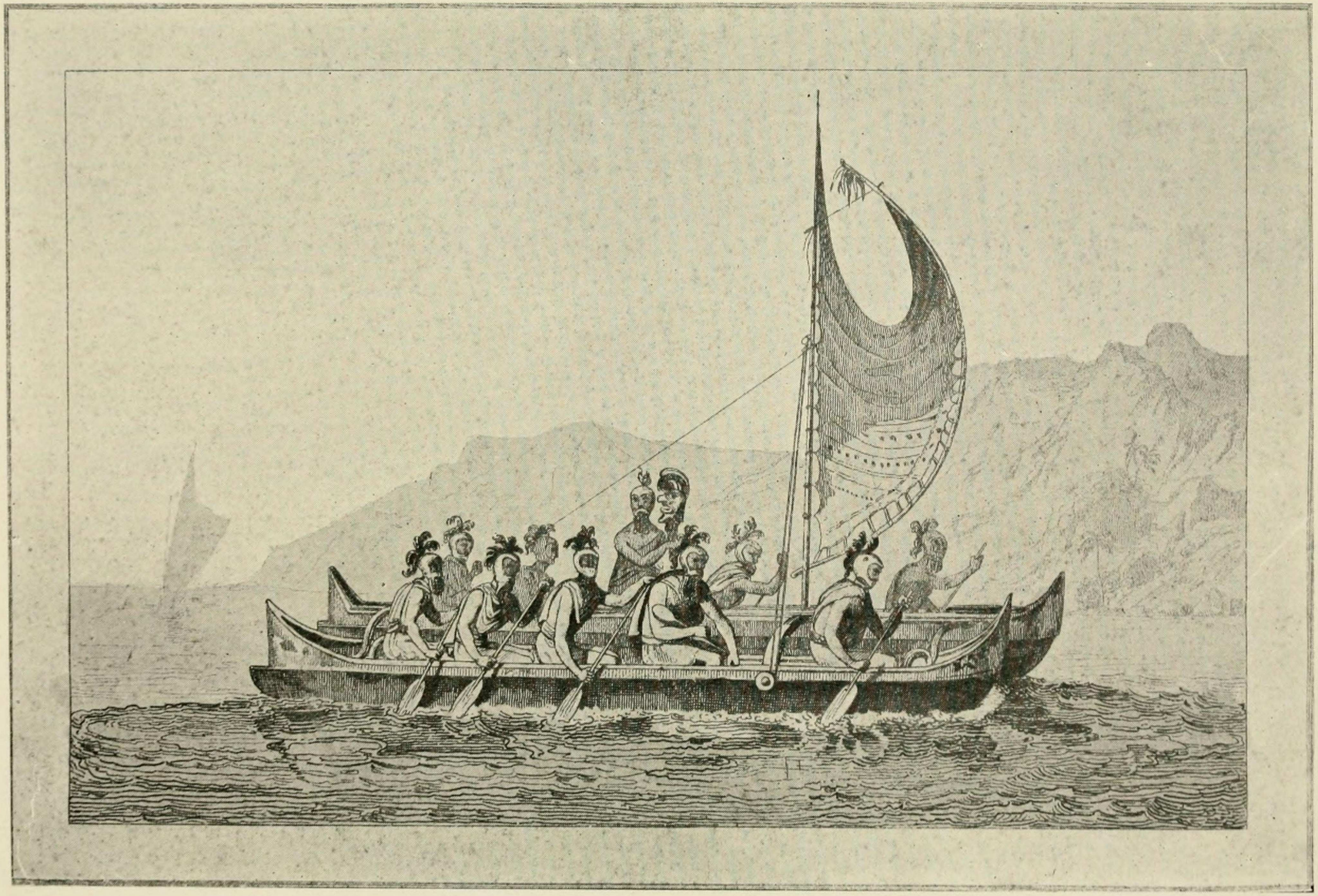

HAWAIIAN DOUBLE CANOE—1798.

PREFACE

The voyage of the "NEPTUNE" around the World in 1796-99.

The Diary which follows this introductory notice I had the pleasure of reading before the (New Haven) Historical Society in 1883.

Mr. Ebenezer Townsend, the principal owner of the "NEPTUNE" and the projector of the voyage, was at the time one of the most—possibly the most—extensive ship owner in New Haven. His vessels sailed to many of the great shipping ports of the world, and a large fortune had resulted from his commercial adventures.

For some years prior to the sailing of the "Neptune," sealing voyages had been performed by ships from Salem and Providence which had been very lucrative, and the New Haven ship owners were eager to "try the venture."

Mr. Townsend fitted out the "Neptune" for a sealing voyage under the command of Daniel Greene, a veteran shipmaster, strict disciplinarian and an honest man. The Ship's Company consisted of 45 young and sturdy Connecticut men.

She carried an armament of 20 twelve-pound guns and was called a fast sailing ship. The "Neptune" was 350 tons burden, and was built in this city (New Haven) at the Olive Street Ship Yard.

Ebenezer Townsend, Jr., was the supercargo, and in those days it was no sinecure to be supercargo of a sealing ship. All the details of the ship's business, the weighing of food, the account of the skins captured, selling the same in China, paying the ship's bills, buying and receiving the homeward cargo, all of these and other duties fell to the lot of the old-time supercargo—

an office which is now obsolete: ocean cables and steamships have destroyed it.

From this port (New Haven) the "Neptune" sailed for the Seal Islands in the South Pacific (Massafuero, Massatierra, etc.), and after killing and salting down 80,000 seals proceeded to Canton, where the skins were sold at a price which gave the ship a gross freight of $280,000.

A cargo of tea, silks, nankeens, and China ware was loaded, and the "Neptune" came home to New Haven after an absence of about three years.

The pecuniary results of the voyage have never been equalled by a New Haven ship, and it is probable that no American vessel ever made so much in the same period of time, when we take into consideration that the "Neptune" took *no cargo from this port* (New Haven).

The share of the profits which were awarded to Mr. Townsend, Sr., amounted to $100,000—our Diarist received $50,000 and $70,000 was divided between Captain Greene and others who were interested in the voyage. The United States Government levied upon the cargo a duty amounting to $74,000.

During the War of 1812 the American ship owners met with many losses, some losing their entire property. The Supercargo was among the number. Soon after the War he went to New York where for many years he was the proprietor of the Tontine Coffee House, a place where ship owners and masters of vessels met, settled freights, planned voyages and arranged charters.

Later on, Mr. Townsend moved to the extreme West (for those days), where he died not many years ago.

Portraits of Mr. Townsend the elder, and of Captain Greene, are in the possession of the Society (New Haven Historical Society) and hang in the Portrait Gallery.

THOMAS R. TROWBRIDGE, JR.

EXTRACT FROM THE

Diary of Ebenezer Townsend, Jr.

In Hawaii from August 12, 1798, to August 31, 1798.

PUNA—HILO—HAMAKUA.

At 6 o'clock, evening of the 12th of August, 1798, we made the long wished for island of Owyhee (Hawaii), the east end of which bore SSW, distance 12 leagues. Very high land. Stood in under snug sail through the night and in the morning were about five leagues distant. We then attended to our armament, loaded our carriage guns and took such precautions as were necessary to guard against the treachery of Indians. Ran close in with the island, when a canoe came off with a couple of Indians, a few potatoes and a couple of pumpkins. We were not pleased, after rounding the ship to get them on board, that their cargo was so trifling. However, we thought we should soon have enough off. We received them on board and dropped their canoe astern of the ship and squared away and soon towed so hard on the canoe that she filled and parted her tow rope. The Indians sprang immediately overboard and were very quick alongside their canoe and quicker in getting the water out of her and getting into her themselves. It was a single canoe; nothing singular in the canoe itself, being dug out from a log; but it had an outrigger, a light piece of wood same length as the canoe, of three inches diameter to skim the surface at about three feet and a half distance from the canoe and fastened to it by four or five pieces of wood in the shape of a sickle with the handle fastened across the canoe and the point to the outrigger; this operated as a lever without disturbing but a trifle the passage of the boat through the water. This outrigger they immediately took hold of, and

Aug. 21st 1798

forcing it under water and back again, with an expertness which you cannot conceive of, they completely turned the water out of her. We rounded to again and received them on board, guarding against a like accident. By what we could learn from them, after running some time and no canoes coming off, we concluded there must be a taboo, and yet we could not comprehend a taboo that would not allow them to come on board of us. We ran along between forty and fifty miles, close in. The land appeared in the highest state of cultivation and some cleared spots were seen towards the summit of the mountain, which showed itself above the clouds which rolled along below. The ascent appeared just gradual enough from the shore to be beautiful and show itself fairly to the eye. We passed a number of villages which appeared much like the negro houses in the West Indies.

Aug. 13th 1798 The night of the 13th we were obliged to stand off and on again without any communication further with the shore. We were very uneasy, having several of our crew very bad with the scurvy, and the two men appearing afraid to go on shore and so glad to have got on board we feared that something very serious might be on shore. We could find out but little from them by signs.

KAWAIHAE BAY.

Aug. 14th 1798 On the morning of the 14th, having experienced a strong lee current through the night, we again stood in and still no canoes came off. As I have been some among Indians and do not believe them so hostile in disposition as to wish to injure, unless some benefit was to be derived or revenge gratified, and that I had nothing to fear unless there had been some recent outrage by white people, I therefore proposed to Capt. Greene to let the yawl go on shore armed, and that I would go in her and would go on shore, letting the boat keep off a little, out of the power of the natives, until I could discover whether they were friendly or not.

Having stood with the ship within about four leagues of the landing, but what we thought nearer, we started in the yawl, being five of us and one of the Indians for pilot, and pulled in in about three hours. The beach was filled with Indians. We rowed pretty near the shore when, I jumped overboard rather above my knees in water and the boat pulled off a few rods from the shore. I was received with the strongest marks of friendship in their countenances and gestures. Tidi Miti (Keliimaikai (k)), who is the king's (Kamehameha (k) brother and the head chief in that district (Kohala) where we were, came down and taking me by the hand, walked from the shore with me surrounded by Indians. I very soon noticed a change in his countenance and his eyes turned frequently towards my pistols, which were in a belt around my waist. They were a very snug pair and being no way cumbersome I had landed with them on, when I ought and intended to have left them in the boat; but it cannot surprise you that it did not occur to me when my mind was so taken up with this new visit that I was about making. His countenance showed that he was not pleased at my landing armed, which as soon as I noticed, I presented him with my pistols; he would receive but one, giving me back the other. This much more than reinstated me, for as soon as he opened the pan and saw them loaded he clasped my hand and by his gestures showed that he was extremely pleased that I had confidence in him. I saw immediately there was nothing to fear. They soon, by signs, let me know that there was a white man (Shacklesby) among them whom they had sent for. He came down in about an hour, which time I spent very comfortably in the chief's house. The white man, whose name was Shacklesby, said that John Young, who lives in this bay (Kawaihae), an Englishman, set off for the ship this morning and an Irishman (Martin) with him; that there was one of the annual taboos on, which was a prohibition from going on the water for ten days; that it

would expire within a day or two, and until then the natives could not go alongside. The yawl now being on shore we began our barter and at evening we got on board with a hog and a good stock of vegetables. The hospitality of Tidi Miti (Keliimaikai (k)) when I landed I must not pass over; he first took me into a circle of about sixty girls, who partially rested themselves with their elbows on their knees, and by very expressive signs told me if I had come for a wife I could take which I pleased; after which he took me to his house and treated me with the fruits of the island. This was very grateful after getting on shore in a hot sun. We landed at Fowchai Bay (Kawaihae Bay), in the district of Ko-ah-ra (Kohala), on the northeast part of the island, and although the boat was surrounded they did not attempt to take anything from us dishonestly. I landed determined to get into no quarrel, and if they should want my shirt they should have it or anything else that I had. What I had calculated to do from prudence I felt willing to do gratuitously almost, after I was received in so friendly a manner. We found John Young and the Irishman (Martin) on board; the latter frightened the two Indians on board very much by telling them the king would have them killed for breaking the taboo. The white men on the island, it appears, are not obliged to respect the taboo. They left us in the evening and went on shore and we stood off and on through the night with the ship, wind light and almost from W to WNW.

Aug. 15th 1798 On the 15th we ran in and I again went on shore in the yawl for John Young. I remained on shore and he went off to bring the ship in: which he brought in and anchored at 3 P. M. Wind fresh at WNW. I spent the day with Tidi Miti (Keliimakai (k)) and returned on board the ship in the evening. Although the taboo was not off until next morning there were a good many of the natives visited the ship: they came off privately from different quarters. Although the

taboo was very rigidly enforced, their curiosity could not be restrained.

Aug. 16th 1798 The taboo was off and we were surrounded with canoes very early in the morning. Tidi Midi (Keliimaikai (k)) visited us and remained two or three days with us. Capt. Greene received a letter from the king (Kamehameha (k)), probably written by I. Davis, welcoming him to the island and saying he should visit us; which he answered and sent him a couple bottles wine and a couple bottles rum, which was conformable to the advice of Mr. Young. We bartered nails, knives and hatchets for hogs and vegetables. Tidi Miti's (Keliimaikai (k)) wife (Kiilaweau (w)) also visited us and remained with him.

Aug. 17th 1798 Homes, a Yankee from Plymouth, Massachusetts, came on board: said he had been here two years; had a wife and two children. We continued our traffic as usual through the day and at sundown Tidi Miti (Keliimaikai (k)) tabooed the water around the ship until the next morning, when the canoes left us.

Aug. 18th 1798 Capt. Stewart, an Englishman, visited us and with Mr. Young and their wives* remained on board. Capt. Stewart had been there four years. Mr. Young made us a present of a very fine turtle of about sixty pounds. Surrounded through the day with canoes, and all hands trading. At sundown tabooed by Tidi Miti (Keliimaikai (k)). We, however, allowed some of the natives to remain on board through the night, but never so many as to be in any danger from them. We never allowed more than our own number on board at any time and we always kept a part of the crew under arms.

DESCRIPTION OF KAMEHAMEHA I

Aug. 19th 1798 At about sunrise, the king, whose name is Amaiamai-ah (Kamehameha (k)), came on board in quite handsome style in a double canoe, paddled by about five and twenty men. He was seated on the center, on a

*John Young's wife at this time was Namokuelua (w), a woman of the Oahu aristocracy, from Kailua, Oahu.—Ed.

platform about four feet higher than the sides of the canoe; he seemed to be not far, one way or the other, from forty years of age; a large athletic man, well proportioned, perhaps a little over six feet; rather a reserved, forbidding countenance, at first view; two upper fore teeth gone, which added to the harshness of his countenance; a keen, penetrating eye and a good one, which rather contradicted the conclusion to be drawn from the other parts of his face. He had on an English dress of blue broad-cloth for his coat and pantaloons, trimmed with red; his waistcoat red, trimmed with fur. He very soon got rid of that uncomfortable dress and appeared in the same that his subjects do. He is very active and was all over the ship in a few minutes and making many questions. While we lay there I proposed learning him the compass, which I had some reason to regret, for he kept me at it continually until he learned it. He brought on board with him a dozen stand of arms; this was for show, as they passed them on board the ship and they were stowed away half out of order until he left us again. It is very difficult keeping his muskets in order, for they feel so pleased with them that they keep snapping them. One of his wives (Kaahumanu (w)) came on board with him; she was a large woman, with a great deal of the cloth of the country around her, which she also soon got rid of and appeared as other Indian women. He also brought a Jew cook with him, and if he remains here I think it will be difficult to trace his descendants, for he is nearly as dark as they are. He was soon followed by Isaac Davis, in another canoe with the king's other wife (Kalakua (w)), who is sister to the first one; they are both of them large, fat women. The king's daughter (Nahienaena (w)), a princess, soon came on board after the king; she had with her two boys of about a dozen years as a watch over her conduct, she being tabooed by her father, who says she is to marry some great chief; her mother (Keopuolani (w)) was a woman of rank but not wife to the king. Davis said the

king and his daughter (Nahienaena (w)) were very much attached to each other, but notwithstanding she appeared very diffident about going to the cabin to see him. I had the honor of waiting on her in, but they took no particular notice of each other. The king (Kamehameha (k)) and his brother (Keliimaikai (k)) did not appear to take particular notice of each other, but the next day (August 20, 1798), in meeting with a couple of chiefs whom he had not seen for some time, they all three kneeled down together and cried very loud and the tears flowed very profusely. Two sisters met in the same way one day on board. We had now all the royal family on board. The princess (Nahienaena (w)) is about fifteen years of age, not handsome, but a fine, plump, healthy-looking girl and very sprightly. When I was making some memorandum in my journal she very sportively took the pen out of my hand and attempted to write. I therefore can show you her writing when I get home. In the afternoon I went on shore in an Indian canoe and had a swimming match with the Indians. I had a good deal of sport with two hundred of all sorts and sizes; they would any of them swim two feet to my one; they laughed very heartily at seeing my white shoulders among their dark ones; any of the children would outswim me. I returned on board ship in the evening. We had the wind from sea through the day and off the land through the night.

Aug. 20th 1798

The chief (Kameeiamoku (k)) who cut off a schooner ("Fair American"), a tender of Capt. Metcalf,* came alongside the ship. The king (Kamehameha (k)) was requested to order him off, and he did

*Captain Metcalf carried out the first seal skins and with Captain Kendrick from Boston, were the two first adventurers from the United States to the North West Coast. Captain Kendrick was killed in receiving a salute from another vessel in consequence of one of her guns being accidentally shotted, at Wahoo (Oahu) one of the Sandwich Islands. Captain Metcalf was killed on the North West Coast. Both of them made several successful voyages from Canton to the coast, but their owners were never benefited. They spent it as they went along. From Townsend's Diary, p. 28.

so. He (Kameeiamoku (k)) was smartly dressed up for the visit, and when ordered on shore was laughed at by the Indians. Isaac Davis being the only man saved, and he and John Young being then on board I got from them the particulars. Capt. Metcalf, of New York, on a northwest voyage, having a small schooner ("Fair American"), a tender with him, had appointed Owhyhee (Hawaii) a place of rendezvous in case they were separated. Capt. Metcalf gave command of the schooner to his son; Isaac Davis was his mate. Although the father and son had been separated several months, they both fell in with the Island of Owhyhee (Hawaii) the same day; the father to the windward and the son to leeward of the island. Having visited the island before, young Metcalf placed too much confidence in them, not reflecting there was no law to protect him and that he was completely at the mercy of the chief who commanded, with the most powerful temptation to get possession of his vessel, everything on board of which they were anxious to possess. This chief (Kameeiamoku (k)) was the rascal. The deck being full of Indians they at once murdered the captain (young Metcalf) and every man excepting Davis, and hove them overboard; him they knocked down and hove overboard, but afterwards took him into a canoe to save him and took him on shore. When the king (Kamehameha (k)) was informed of this rascally transaction he was very much offended, but the perpetrator (Kameeiamoku (k)) was a powerful chief, and from policy the rascal was not publicly punished, and at that time they had but very little communication with strangers, who were considered rather as intruders than as entitled to any of their hospitality. The king (Kamehameha), however, went immediately down and took charge of Davis, took him home with him, and has been a very tender father to him ever since. The next day after that transaction, Capt. Metcalf, the father, running along the island landed a boat's crew near where the schooner was cut off and

the natives got possession of Mr. John Young, who was boatswain of the ship. He was taken back to see Davis, and has also experienced the particular friendship of the king, who indulges them both with as much land as they want and as many slaves as they wish. Capt. Metcalf soon got sight of the schooner and learned the fate of his son. At this time there were a great many Indians in their canoes around him. He waited until he was well surrounded when he opened a fire with his broadsides and killed as many as he could.* I could not ascertain with any degree of confidence how many he killed, but the Indians did not appear to think he did wrong, although it very unfortunately so happened that none of the guilty ones were there, for he was not off the right village. This was certainly a most cruel thing, and although I am willing and am disposed to make great allowance for the feelings of a father, and believe none but a father, under the circumstances, would make sufficient allowance for him, yet I think it was very barbarous, and that it was unjustifiable. Perhaps his feelings had completely deranged his mind, so that it was the act of a madman. If he had acted wisely he might have got the chief himself, the execution of whom would have been more serviceable and gratified his resentment more. Young and Davis now are right-hand men to the king and are very serviceable to him as well as to the foreigners who visit the island. They honestly appear to consult the interest of the visitors and visited. We had on board of our ship that day an evidence of equal depravity to a savage. A man by the name of Martin, an Irishman, whom Capt. Greene had told he would let him have a passage down to China. For some trifling offence taken on shore at an Indian some time before, Martin seeing him come alongside, and thinking himself safe, determined on having revenge. He took the musket out of the hands

*This was evidently the Olowalu massacre, which in reality happened several days before at Maui. This account is a new version of the affair, and is probably incorrect, as earlier visitors agree that the Olowalu massacre happened at Maui before Capt. Metcalf visited Hawaii.—Ed.

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of the sentry and fired at the Indian, who happened to see what he was doing just soon enough to jump out of the way, but the ball went through the canoe where he had sat. Capt. Greene had him tied up immediately and ordered him three dozen, and the boatswain to give it to him in the presence of the king (Kamehameha (k)), who soon thought he could do it better himself, and took the rope's end from the boatswain and put it on well until Capt. Greene requested him to desist. He was then untied and ordered to be put on shore; but on his stating that he should be killed by the Indians, and begging on his knees for his life, Capt. Greene's usual humane feelings were brought into action, and he suffered him to remain, and he is yet on board as humble as a dog. Martin had procured me a very sprightly boy which I intended to bring with me to America, but on seeing this fracas he thought himself, and I think very correctly, better off at home. We continued our trade. We bought a number of hogs from the king, for which we paid from three pints to five quarts of rum each. In the evening one of the queens got very drunk, which the king took no particular notice of.

Aug. 21st 1798 On the 21st we agreed with Amai-amai-ah (Kamehameha (k)), the king, for all our deficiency of supplies, to receive them at Wahoo (Oahu), an island to leeward. We agreed and paid for at the same time forty-five large hogs, and as much sugar-cane and vegetables as would fill our quarter deck square with the binnacle, and as high as the quarter rails. We paid a barrel of flour for twelve hogs; a barrel of pitch for ten hogs, and a large pitch kettle for eleven hogs; the balance we paid in canvas, rice, and blocks and some rigging.

I was very much diverted at a little piece of finesse in the king (Kamehameha (k)), on my measuring out some rum to him. As I was measuring it in a quart pot, when I had put twenty quarts (every one he counted), he said I had put in but nineteen; I asserted

I was right, he said not, and that I must put in another. I was certain I was right, and did not believe but that he knew as well as I did, for he is a hawk-eyed fellow. I persisted and began to measure it over again, when he proposed to split the difference (this he must have learned from some Yankee). When he saw I would not agree to that, but continued to measure, he said it was no importance, and let it go as it was. Do not consider this dishonesty or meanness in him, for he was free from either; it was rather a piece of wit which he wished to exercise.

In the afternoon we unmoored the ship and prepared to get under way. John Young received a letter from Worth,* our acquaintance of the Falkland Islands; he had just arrived and was laying at Karahchoora Bay (Kealakekua Bay). The king, with all the royal family and other visitors, left us, except Isaac Davis and Stewart and Homes; the first who came down with us to see the contract made with the king fulfilled. On leaving Davis the king embraced him and cried like a child. Davis said he always did when he left him, for he was always apprehensive that he might leave him, although he had promised him he would never do it without giving him previous notice. We tried to persuade him to continue with us, and finally he said nothing prevented him but the promise he had made the king. It was not long after the king left us before he returned and jumping in on deck presented me with one of my pistols. As we were always on the lookout I kept my pistols loaded under the head of my bed from where it was stolen. An Indian got it and jumped with it out of the cabin window, and when he got on shore presented it to the king, and as it was the pistol, which I handed, on my first landing, to Tidi Miti (Keliimaikai (k)), the king's brother, he told him whose it was, when he immediately brought it off to me. It was so neat a thing he would have been pleased at keeping it. When he

Capt. Barzillai Worth, in brig "Garland." p. 27 Ibid.—Ed.

left us both times we gave him three cheers, which he returned very well with his Indians.

CUSTOMS OF HAWAIIANS IN 1798

Aug. 22nd 1798

We did not get under way until about midnight, as it took us a long while to get our anchors; it was good holding ground. Davis, with Homes and Stewart, being on board gave me a good opportunity of getting what information they possessed, which you shall have the benefit of. Stewart has been master of a vessel and is a man of considerable intelligence; has been here four years. Davis and Homes are illiterate but very honest men. Davis has been here eight or nine years and Homes two years. They all speak in the highest terms of the king. They say what Capt. Cook called a Morai the natives call Hi-ow (Heiau), and is not, as he supposed, a burying place, but where the chiefs and the priests meet and make offerings, praying for a gratification of their wishes, which agrees with the prayers of our own clergy, for I do not understand their prayers are particularly selfish but for the good of the nation. They, however, being heathen pray to their idols which are scattered about in the Morai or Hi-ow (heiau), which by us may be called a temple. Their idols are not in the shape of anything in the heavens above, or in the earth below, or in the waters under the earth. In these places human victims are sometimes offered, but they are those who have forfeited their lives by their conduct. They say when a chief dies his body is rolled up snug in tapper (Kapa), which is the cloth of the country, and a house built over it, where it lies until the flesh is consumed. The bones are then placed, they believe, in some general family deposit. The women-people, when they die, are tied neck and heels and sometimes buried and sometimes hove into the sea. The clergy are hereditary and as full of ceremony as the Catholics and have a great deal of authority; it is they that regulate the taboos, and although they are generally regular, they

can lay intermediate ones when they please, and that it is death to violate them. However, by the manner of their visiting our ship the night before it was off, as I have already remarked to you, it would appear that they were not so rigidly enforced, as well as by the two men hazarding a visit on board when we first made the islands. But the curiosity of these Indians is very great and not like the North American Indians, who affect not to have any. The chiefs cannot eat pork unless it has been killed and consecrated at the temple. What they call their Marhahiti (makahiki), which is their annual taboo and comes regular by so many moons, is about a month before Christmas, and during that they are prohibited from fighting, and then they who cultivate the land make payment of tithes to the chiefs, who are the owners, of which there are too many, but, notwithstanding, those who work make it rather an exercise than labor, for they only work in the cool of the morning and evening, retiring to the shade whenever the sun becomes uncomfortable. They speak of time by so many Marhahitas (makahiki). The young women never work out-doors but the old ones do. The women at the birth of their children retire from the society of the men, and then on monthly periods also, when they entirely retire and it would be death not to do so. Pork, plantains and cocoanuts are tabooed to the women, as well as some other scarce articles; some because they are scarce and some for other reasons, but I found the women very glad to eat any of those articles if they were out of the reach of detection. That the taboo which was on when we arrived, for ten days, was regular every six months. The women are never allowed to eat of what the men have eaten a part. On board of us, when we offered them anything to eat, would ask if the men had eaten of it. The same with the men. If we answered yes or no, it was all the proof required. Tidi Miti (Keliimaikai (k)), I noticed while on board, would not eat some salt fish from a plateful because some of the wo-

men had eaten from it, but he did not make the same objection when we got on another plate, although we got it out of the same box. The men and women have their respective eating-houses; a man and his wife never eat in the same house; if either sex enter the eating-house of the other it would be pulled down. The chiefs as well as natives generally are great gamblers and frequently play away their lands, their wives and their children. One of the chiefs insisted on playing checkers with Capt. Greene for a hog. He had paid considerable attention to the game and could play it, but not well enough; he lost his hog. The king is now building a house at Mowhee (Lahaina, Maui), which is to be built and furnished in the English style. He calculates to make it his residence part of the time. It appears to be a policy with him to change his residence occasionally, which I think is a good plan for him, for where he is known he will be popular. He obtained his throne by fighting for it, in which he proved his talents as well as his popularity. At the demise of a king there are always several candidates whose claims are nearly equal; although hereditary, not so closely defined but that there are plausible claims. The most popular gets it. The present king (Kamehameha (k)) had a number of severe actions and slew his adversary fairly on the field of battle. There have been several insurrections but none recently. He, however, was not able to bring the leeward islands under his jurisdiction until within about two years. The last which he conquered is Wahoo, or Worhoo (Oahu), where they had a very hard-fought battle; part of the king's force joining the enemy. There is, however, yet another island unconquered, which is Attoi (Kauai), and Amai-amai-ah (Kamehameha) has been a long time building his canoes to attack it, which he does not appear to be in a hurry to do, and if he does, it will be some time first. He has the advantage of his opponents in having more muskets than they. The difference between them and spears is very great.

Inferiors always stoop when anything passes belonging to superiors in rank; when anything passes belonging to the king they stoop, the person who is carrying it crying out "Nory" ("Noho"—sit down); there are those whom the king stoops to, for there are those who rank higher, although of not so much power. The lands belonging to the king are very extensive, the residue are divided among the nobles who are masters of those who work them, who have the privilge of changing masters when they please. The nobles, who are hereditary, therefore are not masters of the time of their vassals. The king can take the life of a nobleman or slave when he pleases, and he often deprives them of their estates for violent acts of injustice.

It is very much doubted whether Capt. Cook was the first discoverer of these islands; it in fact appears pretty evident that he was not; however, he may be entitled to the credit of it, provided he received no aid in the discovery and the Spaniards from policy obliterated the discovery of their own navigators. I presume Cook knew nothing of them before he saw them, but as the Spaniards had laid down a group of islands in the same latitude, a few degrees eastward of the Sandwich Islands, where there are none, it is likely to be the same, for at that time they could not be supposed to be very correct in their longitude. There is at Mowee (Maui) the ring and part of the shank of an anchor of about seven hundred weight which was not long ago hooked up there, where there is no recollection of there ever having been a vessel, and from the appearance it must have been there a great many years. Mr. Young says they have a tradition that a couple of white men came on shore and remained there about one hundred and fifty years ago. They landed in a small vessel covered over with skins and he had seen their descendants which satisfied him of the truth of the story, and that they were white. We had light breezes through the day from NNE to ENE; through the night we lay becalmed under Mowee (Maui). We

killed eight hogs and salted them down, taking out all the bone.

Aug. 23rd 1798 August 23d caught a shark. The Indians belonging to the families of the white men saved the teeth, as they use them to cut their hair. We had light winds fore part of the day, the latter part we had a good breeze from the NNE which run us off Wahoo (Oahu), where we stood on and off through the night.

OAHU

Aug. 24th 1798 August 24th. Early in the morning we were close in with Wahoo (Oahu), off Diamond Hill (Diamond Head), when the canoes began to visit us. We steered along NW by W until Diamond Hill (Diamond Head) on Whitreter Bluff (Waikiki Bluff) bore S 72° E per compass, when we anchored in ten fathoms, sandy bottom with small shells and scattered coral rock. We anchored rather far out. In the afternoon I went on shore with Mr. Davis when he gave orders for our supply early in the morning, we laying about two and a half miles from the landing.

Aug. 25th 1798 Early in the morning we began receiving our supply, which was delivered to us faster than we could take it on board. The Indians were flocking in from every plantation with hogs and vegetables. Pleasant weather, wind at NE.

HONOLULU

Aug. 26th 1798 I went on shore with an intention of getting a couple of boys, one for Capt. Greene and one for myself, but they being informed of my views were very shy; the boys would run from us when we came near them. It was very different from what it was at Ow-hy-hee (Hawaii), for there we could have got as many boys as we pleased. We were anxious to have just such as we pleased which accounts for our not getting them. There was some unaccountable cause for their shyness: it was not the case with the natives generally. We did not take much pains for we had no

wish to get any but those who wished to go with us. An American by the name of Hamilton resided there. I found the Island of Wahoo (Oahu) a delightful one. The harbor (Honolulu harbor) is a good one but rather narrow to get in. The ship lay rather in the bay as it is generally difficult to get into the harbor but by warping. I have a draft of this harbor which I have copied from one in the possession of Capt. Stewart. The lands are in the highest state of cultivation, everything of luxurious growth; the sugar-cane finer than any I have ever seen, I think rather larger than at Ow-hy-hee (Hawaii) and, as at that Island, you here see the bread-fruit, coconut, plantain, sweet potatoes, taro, yams, banana, which are native productions, and watermelons, muskmelons, pumpkins, cabbages and most of our garden vegetables introduced by foreigners. They supply themselves with salt in the same manner as at Turk's Island in the West Indies. Small pans are made in the ground near the sea water, which is let in occasionally and by evaporation produces the salt. They have artificial fish ponds both of fresh and salt water, without which their supply of fish would not be bountiful. These ponds would do credit to a refined state of society. There are natural ponds that abound with fresh-water fish. On the island is a pearl-oyster (, or Pearl Harbor). It is in a river about three or four miles from where we anchored. We got some few pearls and some of the pearl oyster shells, which is called, you know, mother-of-pearl. In the afternoon our contract being honorably complied with and we having received the forty-five hogs and vegetables, till we said we had enough, having in all then on board one hundred and forty-five hogs, some small but mostly from 80 pounds up to 250 pounds, with an ample supply of sugar cane for the hogs, as well as every other production which we wanted, we got under way and stood out of the bay about 4 o'clock. Before we started, having benefited so much by the good offices of Isaac Davis, who was

clothed with the supreme power while at this island, and on all occasions had been our friend with the king, we presented him with ten gallons of liquors, rum, brandy and gin, a barrel of beef, a musket, a cheese, some coffee and chocolate, a couple of shirts, and as he said he should be glad to go to the United States, but if he did he could not go to work as formerly, we gave him a conditional obligation that if he ever did come to the United States and called on us we would each pay him one hundred dollars, and we do not doubt that other visitors to these islands will also subscribe, by which means perhaps he may have something that may be serviceable to him, and we think him worthy of it. We also sent by Davis some liquors, etc., to John Young, at Ow-hy-hee (Hawaii), whom we also esteemed highly. In the evening, Mr. Davis, Stewart, Homes and Hamilton left us and we got under way, steering at about SW. At 2 o'clock we hauled up NW by W½W; light wind from the westward the latter part of the night.

KAUAI

Aug. 27th 1798 At 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th of August we made the Island of Attoi (Kauai); ran in for the northeast part of the island. At dark it was about four leagues distant.

Aug. 29th 1798 The canoes came off to us from the NE part of the island bringing potatoes, plantains, mats, spears, etc. The first canoe that came alongside, I, without expecting to be understood, said "who are you?" "I am General Washington," says the Indian, which surprised me. On investigation I found that he was an Indian that had been to the northwest coast of America with Capt. Kendricks. We here hooked a shark which they tried to get into their boat; they jumped into the water although there were sharks around, which they did not appear to have any fear of. Our crew got taken in several times by the Indians with half finished mats: they being rolled up, they supposed them of the same size as we had found them to the Windward Islands. As soon as they sold, the Indians pad-

dled off. Here I bought a pretty boy of about nine years of age from his father, for some trifling consideration, but when the father came to leave him he felt so bad that I would bring no boy away who came unwillingly. I therefore insisted on his father taking him back, which he wished not to do but was rather indifferent about it. We stopped at this island hoping to get some yams, considering them the only vegetable that would keep during our passage and which was not so plenty to windward. We were able to get but few here. Toward night we squared away for Oneho (Niihau) and lay becalmed through the night under the lee of Attoi (Kauai).

Aug. 29th 1798

We lay becalmed through the day, still under the lee of the island (Kauai). This is a very fine island and the only one in this group that is not subject to the king of Ow-hy-hee (Hawaii). I am informed that there are aqueducts here for the purpose of watering their lands; that one is three or four miles in length, running around the mountain to water the land below, that is built up of stone a considerable height, and that there is a small basin that a vessel from sea can go into and they ran a dam across of a sufficient height, after which the aqueduct will give a sufficient supply to carry her up where they wish and the same when they launch her; answering every purpose of a dry dock. There are here three white men and two Portuguese; the latter they call black men here. They are building a vessel for the king, who is under strong apprehensions from the king of Ow-hy-hee (Hawaii). The canoe that boarded us with General Washington on board came over with us to Oneho (Niihau), where we now are.

NIIHAU

Aug. 30th 1798

We arrived this day, August 30th, and one of our Indians went on shore to forward the getting of some yams, which we found were scarce. I believe a month later we should have found them plenty. We have not anchored and shall not, as we shall square away for Canton in the evening. We find the trade small at

this island, but generally a good island for yams. The southern part of the island looks poor but the rest appears pretty well.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

I have given you a pretty general account of our proceedings among these islands, taken from my more particular journal, in which there is necessarily much trash, in leaving out which I have also left out some remarks that ought to be made. I shall now give you these remarks with some general ideas of the islands, in doing which you will excuse it if I should make some repetition, for I am not very studious to avoid errors where none but my brother and myself are to peruse it. I shall therefore just cast my eye over it and make such additions to my letter as I may think necessary. These islands are eleven in number: Owhyhee (Hawaii), Mowee (Maui), Tahourai (Kahoolawe), Ranai (Lanai), Morotoi (Molokai), Whahoo (Oahu), Attoi (Kauai), Neeheho (Lehua), Oneho (Niihau), Morotinee (Molokini), and Tahura (Kaula). They are in from 18° to 22° north latitude and 153° to 163° west longitude. Owhyhee (Hawaii), are the principal islands for a ship to get supplies at; sometimes one is best and sometimes the other, according as they may have been visited. There is no danger of a deficiency but in hogs; it is therefore the safest to touch at Owyhee (Hawaii) and run down the islands. The island of Owhyhee (Hawaii) is about twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea at the summit of the mountains of Mona Roa (Mauna Loa) and Mona Koah (Mauna Kea), which forms plains at different heights, which would give all the advantages of different climates, from the growing of wheat down to the banana, or apples and peaches down to pine-apples. It is said there is frequent snow on the mountains and it is calculated that the region of perpetual snow in this latitude is but between three and four

thousand feet higher. It is therefore probable that in the winter months there is sometimes snow on these mountains, as the calculation also is that it descends 2,624 feet lower in winter than in summer in this latitude. This island is seen at sea forty leagues; you may see it in the morning and without a smart breeze you would not be in with it at night. It is triangular and each side about ninety miles in extent. Although the island generally is in a high state of cultivation, there is considerable waste land, most of which is because it is not wanted. In the district of Koarah (Kohala) where we lay with the ship, one of the points which formed the bay had its soil completely destroyed by a volcanic eruption, which broke out on the top of a mountain above, and the lava ran down its side into the sea; it streaked down in ridges, completely burning up all the soil. Tochai Bay (Kawaiahae Bay), where we were is a good harbor, but Karahekoa (Kealakekua) is the principal harbor and the one more usually visited. It is the present residence of the king (Kamehameha) and will long be remembered as the death place of the valuable navigator, Capt. James Cook. The king had a navy yard where we lay and a schooner of about sixty tons on the stocks. She is building under cover of a thatch building and the superintendence of Mr. John Young. She has been on the stocks eighteen months, and probably a year more will be gone before she will be launched. There were also a number of large double war canoes building under thatched houses, said to be for the invasion of Attoi (Kauai), which had been several years since they were begun; the largest are seventy feet in length, six feet in depth and each canoe about two feet wide, lashed together about five feet apart by pieces of timber rising in the middle, on which is a platform for the warriors. Those who paddle are in the canoes. The sides of the canoes tumble in like a ship of war, which make them more safe as to taking in water. Their single canoes are

various sizes, about one-third as wide as they are deep, and even their outriggers are tender-sided. The Irishman (Martin) who visited us on our arrival came near being drowned; going on shore he overset twice in trying to let us know how well he felt; he would not be still, he tried to hoorah and over he went. We sent our boat and picked him up. He said they were the worst boats he was ever in: a man could not shift his chew of tobacco. I think they are nothing like as easily overset as the North American bark canoes, which I have been pretty well used to and not afraid to go in at almost any time. These canoes will, I think, outpaddle them against the wind, but in a perfect calm I do not know that they would, although they say they can paddle nine knots, which is faster than I ever saw a bark canoe paddled. These canoes are dug out from logs, or rather partly burned and partly dug out; they are generally in two pieces; some are in several; the workmanship is good and they are not made in a hurry. The king Kamehameha (k)) now has his blacksmiths and his carpenters; there was a blacksmith's forge at the navy yard. The man( ) who killed Capt. Cook was alongside of us. He is not blamed by the natives, and I believe ought not to be, but the circumstance has been so much regretted among themselves, as well as on board every vessel that ever stops there, that he really feels not as though he had done wrong but a regret at having done it; he never visits on board, but goes alongside with what he may have to sell, and on shore again as soon as it is disposed of. The disposition which made Capt. Cook a great man was what cost him his life; a perseverance bordering on rashness and a sprig of national pride which increases to its full size on board of every armed ship of Great Britain. Owhyhee (Hawaii) was calculated to contain one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants when visited by Capt Cook; at this time I do not believe it contains over a hundred thousand; it probably has been reduced considerably by the

late wars. Mowee (Maui), the next in size to Owhyhee(Hawaii), is said to be a very fine island; it appeared very pleasant but we did not land on it; is about one-third less than Owhyhee (Hawaii). Wahoo (Oahu) rather a less island, but I think the pleasantest island of the whole; the harbor (Honolulu harbor) is said to be the safest among the group. Attoi (Kauai) is also a delightful island and said to be full the equal in size of all others; in agriculaure it is said to be the first.

NATIVES

The natives of these islands are an active, well-made people, color of a dark olive, varying two or three shades lighter. Most of the men, particularly the chiefs, rather disfigure themselves by knocking out two or three upper fore teeth. Their dress is the merro (malo), which is a narrow piece of cloth about six inches wide, carried around the waist and in a peculiar manner between their legs, then tucked through in front, the end hanging loosely down; being no more than decency would demand in any country where there would be any pretensions to it. The dress of the women evidenced a superiority more necessary and more common to them in the delicacy of their dress. They wore a sort of petticoat made from the cloth of the country, which descended below their knees, and they sometimes wore a piece of cloth as a mantle over their shoulders; they also wore ornaments around their neck and on their heads, and would have really looked well but for one very forbidding custom of turning the hair up on the forehead and taking the color out with lime, so that there was a streak perfectly white on their forehead when the rest of the hair was very black. They are very pleasing in their manners and evidently, particularly those that are young and handsome, have the same power over the men that they have in countries more civilized. I have before remarked that the young women never work in the field, but the old ones sometimes do. The foreigners, when

no vessels are here, more generally dress like the natives. There was an Italian ( ) came on board of us, and being much tattooed, I should not have noticed but he was an Indian, unless told to the contrary. I noticed one Indian who always eats with the women, contrary to the uniform custom. Mr. Young told me there were some instances, but they were few and that such men were completely incorporated into the society of the females, and were, no more than they, allowed to go into the houses of the men. There was one thing very unpleasant to my feelings, who you know, as my mother was a woman, having the highest esteem and respect for the female character, which was to see them all, pleasant, cheerful women, go stooping about decks merely because there happened to be a chief on deck. They have one very fascinating quality in the females, which is neatness; they certainly are the most cleanly people that I have seen; they bathe a number of times every day, they do nothing scarcely without bathing after it; they bathe immediately after every repast. As far as we can judge from appearances they are a very happy people; they appear to be children in their amusements and in everything but their size. There was a chief with his wife that slept on our cabin floor one night and they laughed and giggled through the whole of it. They sing and dance a great deal, their songs are altogether patriotic, something in favor of their king and their principal chiefs.

I shall not attempt to argue the point whether a more civilized state of society is more happy or not. If they have more virtues, do they not also have more vices? If a child appears lively and happy, we reasonably conclude he is so. Capt. Vancouver was very anxious to Christianize these people, but that can never be done until they are more civilized. The king Amma-amma-hah (Kamehameha) told Capt. Vancouver that he would go with him on to the high mountain Mona Roah (Mauna Loa) and they would both jump off together, each calling on their separate gods

for protection, and if Capt. Vancouver's god saved him, but himself was not saved by his god, then his people should believe as Capt. Vancouver did. Capt. Vancouver had management enough to get all the islands ceded to the king of England; this will be a sufficient excuse to the world-monopolizing disposition of that government to take possession whenever they think it for their interest to do so. The king (Kamehameha (k)) of Owhyhee (Hawaii) always enquires when a vessel comes in how George is. Although the former is the superior of the latter, that is, he is by far the greatest man among his people, he only appears to be his equal in feelings towards his; he has an exalted opinion of the English from the circumstance that their ships, that have stopped there, have been the king's ships, and in lieu of bartering as our ships do, they do all by presents through the king, which is done on a very liberal scale. The king (Kamehameha (k)), when he made his visit to us, brought his own fare, although he brought a Jew cook ( ) with him; what he brought, however, was such as could not be cooked in their way on board; he brought dogs and pigs ready cooked. Their dogs are a small breed and are fed with their hogs on vegetables, and are never a companionable animal with them. Their flavor is much like a pig; I tried to eat a piece, as they appeared so good, but after rolling it round two or three times, was as glad to get rid of it as Ethan Allen was of the olive: "With your leave, Madam," said he, "I will put this d—d thing back again." Their modes of barbecuing their dogs and pigs are: they are neatly dressed, their hair being singed off, a hole is then dug in the ground, some heated stones laid at the bottom vovered with plantain leaves, the inside of the pig stuffed with heated stones and some small heated ones into the legs, then laid into the hole and carefully covered with plantain leaves and heated stones, so well laid that not a particle of earth can get to the pigs; it is then covered up until it is well

cooked; the skin is not crisped, but otherwise it could not be better cooked. The small fish are eaten raw. I have seen them eaten immediately from the hook, but they were of the length of my finger.

The king brought his pvoy or puoy (poi) and some wooden utensils of very neat workmanship; some dishes to hold three gallons, made of wood as handsome as mahogany, round as if turned in a lathe, as well polished, and the top fitted as well as if done by our country cabinet makers. The puoy (poi) is made from the yarrow (Taro), which is roasted and mashed by mixing with water, is made into a pudding and by fermentation becomes a little sour, in which state they are very fond of it; they dip their fingers and eat it as boys do molasses. The yarrow (taro) is much like the yam in appearance and flavor; grows much larger, sometimes weighing half a dozen pounds. It grows in low grounds and frequently where it is covered with water, which in turn is covered with its leaves; and when roasted, is as good, in my opinion, a substitute for bread as the bread fruit; it is as great an absorbent and is as palatable. There are a few sheep on Owhyhee (Hawaii) and some poultry at this time of but little importance. There is also a cow; not long ago this cow had a calf, and it being what the natives had never seen before, they were so much delighted with it that they set off with it seventy or eighty miles to show it to the king, and it died before they could get it back again.

As I have agreed to come out again for the purpose of taking the crew off Massafuera I have promised the king I would bring him a breed of horses. Their fish ponds are replenished with the young fry at a season of the year when the fish strike in schools. Among their fish they have a crawfish, different but little from lobsters. The pearl oyster is flavored much like the oysters of our own country, and about as good in flavor as those I have seen growing on the man-

grove tree in the West Indies. The pearl is found inside of the oyster itself.

The king (Kamehameha (k)) from his frequent visits to the foreigners was fond of spirits, but I never saw him drink too much, and there were very few of them who would. They are naturally averse to drinking spirituous liquors, and there was scarcely any thing that we eat or drink on board that they were fond of. Bread and salt fish they liked very well. The first Indian who visited us evidenced that he had been on board of some foreign vessel, for seeing my globe on the after locker, he went to it and asked where Owhyhee (Hawaii) was. On frequent explanations to the king and others, trying to persuade them the world was so made, they could not believe a word of it; they said, putting a finger under the globe, if they were there they should drop off.

They being so expert swimmers, we frequently would heave a nail overboard, when they dive and scarce ever fail getting it, although they would sometimes have to go several fathoms. The girls dove as well as the boys. In landing in a heavy surf they manage exactly as I have seen the negroes at Turks Island, in the West Indies. The third roller, or sea, is the heaviest; they would go in on the top of it with a quick velocity, which would carry them well up the beach. They would land with the utmost ease where you or I would have drowned. They sometimes make use of surf-boards. The surf-board is about their own length and floats them lighter. A woman came off to swim all around us at Wahoo (Oahu), when we were two miles off; she probably was in the water four or five hours. Theft has been dwelt on by vessels that have stopped here, I think rather uncharitably; sufficient allowance has not been made, I think, for the great inducement; they value a nail as much as we do a guinea, and the same time they see we value them lightly, when we are willing to heave them overboard merely to see them dive for them; and among such

a crowd as is always around the ship would it not be surprising if there were not thieves? Should we say the natives of these islands are the greatest thieves in the world, when on shore private property is respected and theft punished by a confiscation of their lands among the chiefs, and death among the vassals? This, Davis, told me was the case, and I believe it. The wants of these islanders appear to be just enough to employ the body and mind, and we cannot say but they are as happy as any people on earth; if countenances speak true they are, for they certainly are the most cheerful. I am aware that our appearance among them is very animating, and they of course would appear so, but at the same time that is perhaps entirely balanced in our natural prejudices against a dark-colored people, for what on earth is so beautiful as a pleasing countenanced female of a good fair complexion. While I was with them I was foolish enough to have a double canoe tattoed on one of my legs; the operation was but little painful, but it swelled considerably, and troubled me in walking for several days. The gourds which grow here being so useful for bottles and for dippers should not have been forgotten; they grow to a very large size, and by bandages they give them any shape they please. There are some few oranges at Owhyhee (Hawaii), introduced here, but no limes or tamarinds. The bread-fruit is about the size of a shaddock, knobbed like a pineapple, the points of which are dark; when prepared are dry, not unlike an Irish roast potato, but more palatable; I think they have been overrated. We have a large quantity of fish lines of different sizes, which we calculate to put our rigging in good order with, in pointing and gafting; they are as well spun and laid up as any I ever saw, and are strong; they spin and lay them up very expertly on their knees. The method of proving whether pearls are good is in vinegar, which dissolves them in about ten days. Take a few of the small ones from a parcel which are of very little value. However, there

is no danger in being deceived by them at the islands. These people appear so happy that I reflect much on the subject; although refined societies may be the happiest, the refinement must not be carried to great luxuriousness. May not the Sandwich Islanders be less short of necessary refinement than the Italians, who pay little attention to a virtuous refinement, are beyond it? These Islanders are neat in their persons, respect their legislators and their laws, are cheerful and obliging to each other. Those are refinements. As nothing is great or small but by comparison, compare them with the Patagonians, who are far ahead of the miserable Tierra del Fuegans, near Cape Horn, who are very filthy and in no way comfortable. Between them and the Italian perhaps these Islanders are the medium, and I do not believe in extremes.

We left the Sandwich Islands on August 31, 1798.

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